

[Kumari Shanta Vasisht.]

points, which have to be protected with great care and a high sense of security, should be laid open to all the foreigners. Information about these things is freely given out to the foreigners and there is so much of interference by them. I think the Government should seriously think as to what steps they have to take so that nobody from outside can operate as he likes in this country, function as he likes in this country and treat us as if we are minor children to be taken care of by somebody or other. Therefore I feel we should seriously think about this security aspect because it has become such a big problem for us now.

Thank you.

ENQUIRY RE SHORT NOTICE QUESTION

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal) : Sir, I have to ask. . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : What is it ? Point of Order ?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I have a submission to you. We rarely see our Prime Minister in this House but now we are on one such happy occasion. I gave a short notice question asking as to whether she received a letter from the Chief Minister Ajoy Mookerjee of West Bengal. It does appear from the newspapers—even in today's newspaper it has appeared, from this source, not from Calcutta sources—that she has received a letter of that kind and I think in all fairness to us and, if I may say so, to herself, the Prime Minister will kindly answer my short notice question. If she does not like my short notice question, she can *suo motu*. . .

SHRI A. D. MANI (Madhya Pradesh) : Sir, I can understand the importance of his question but a debate is going on and this is not the proper time. You don't want here to reply to the Short Notice now?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I want to know what is the fate of that notice I gave. Since my notice is chasing the Prime Minister and since by coincidence she is here, I should like to know whether I can expect an answer to that Short Notice Question relating to a

matter of great public importance. I even submit to you, Sir, that if she prefers to answer *suo motu* without taking cognisance of my short notice question, I shall even accept that.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : I have heard your submission. We will see to it.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Where do I stand ? I want to go to Calcutta. When I go to there people will ask me : "Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, you have been in parliament. Did you ask your Prime Minister? What should I tell them, Mr. Vice-President ?

SHRI A. D. MANI : May I submit that a debate is going on and there are many persons wanting to speak ? He spoke for about 40 minutes yesterday and he must give time to others. He cannot rise whenever he likes like this unless on a point of order.

(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : I have heard you, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : What is your direction?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : I have heard your submission and I will ask the Secretariat to convey it in the proper way and you will hear about it.

MOTIONS RE ESPIONAGE ACTIVITIES IN THE COUNTRY—*continued*

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA (Orissa) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, a few days ago on the 5th of December when I got the proud privilege of sitting in this House the one thing on which my mind was already made up is that if I can do nothing during my term of office at least I try to be an un-sleeping sentinel of our democracy and on account of that when I hear of espionages and our internal troubles I am worried and I feel that we should grow about the politicians' stature and try to be statesmen in this House when we know that our democracy is now passing through one of the hardest times. Sir, in the light of the revelations, or rather the confes-

sions, of John Smith this question becomes much more important for us and we have to note the notorious character of the C.I.A. It is unlike other espionage organisations functioning in different countries. The C.I.A. in a sense neither represents the American Government nor the American people.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal) : It looks as if she came, she saw, she went, without conquering anything.

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA : Those who have read the stories and the secrets of the last world war know that the C.I.A. played a very tremendous role not only in the enemy camps but also in wrecking friendly Governments here and there in the post-war period. If I am allowed to draw a comparison, the C.I.A. is like the Medusa and her locks spreading its tentacles all over the world and penetrating into every walk of life of different nations. I cannot be sure whether all that has been said or revealed by John Smith is correct but we know that the C.I.A. represents world reaction. The leaders or patrons of this organisation are people like Macar-thys, Dulleses and others who want a world war for their boom and who never want that a country or a nation should look after its own affairs but feel it is their duty to interfere in the internal affairs of other nations or countries. The C.I.A. people play havoc especially in those countries which are developing and one thing we should bear in mind, that so long as we are committed to the building up of a socialist society in this country, whatever be the attitude of the American Government towards us, the C.I.A. will never be our friend. You know, Sir, the history of the CIA. The Carabean crisis was created by the C.I.A. Even some quarters in America still believed that the C.I.A. was involved in the assassination of President Kennedy because Kennedy was for peace. The warmongers in the Wall Street in the American banks and other places believe, rightly advised by their economists, that it is only during a war when war is declared and America gets into a war, their production rises three hundred per cent. Even if 150 per cent is thrown into the sea, at least 150 per cent will be there for their home consumption and by that there will be prosperity in their country. We have heard of the names mentioned by John Smith. There are politicians, military personnel, journalists and, I believe, they

have also penetrated into our colleges and universities. The other day, during the Question hour, in the course of a supplementary I had said that they have entered the body-politic of India. Their first target or the victim is he who is highly ambitious. Politicians, writers, or journalists and others whatever be their walk of life, if they are highly ambitious, they are the best targets for the CIA men. I know, you know and the house also knows that in our country today democracy is passing through very hard times. We quarrel over minor matters saying whether this language should be there or that language should be there. We have our boundary disputes. We have so many other differences. At a time like this we feel that we are not in India, we are almost in a foreign country. With all our internal troubles, if our public men, leaders in education and other walks of life fall a prey to the C.I.A. men, what will be the condition of India? This great nation of ours, this great land of ours is not only the biggest democracy in the world. It is also the biggest socialist force here. We should be a little more vigilant and ambitious people wherever they are placed should be treated with caution and we must be careful about them.

I want to point out one think. There may be people, but fortunately I do not belong to any lobby, neither to the American lobby nor to any other. I belong hundred per cent to the Indian lobby and that is my consolation. Mahatma Gandhi has said—I am not quoting him—something like this : "The doors and windows of my room are open. Let winds from all the countries—the cultural winds—blow through them freely. But if any wind wants to sweep me off my feet, I will resist it with all the force at my command." India, in her long history, chequered history, is a country which has accepted new ideas. Indianised them and given them a new shape. But we have never submitted to intrigues. We had our Mir Jaffers and men like Sikhi and Monai of Orissa, who did it. We do know the pages of history. But the modern organisation of espionage and the modern techniques of development are very dangerous for people like us who are not used to such ways. We do not have that machinery or that technological development in the country, so that we can place a camera in a Ronson lighter. Therefore, when so many foreigners are here, when so many diplomatic missions are working here, at least I want to be assured by the

[Shri Brahmananda Panda.]

Defence Minister that we are not going to fall a prey to their ways of intrigue. Our public men should be above suspicion.

I want to point out one more thing, as to why this thing is happening or why many of our people are falling a prey to the temptation of money. I tell you it is only the ambitious people who fall a prey to foreign influence and they do it with a purpose, for accentuating the inner party struggle and build up their own pressure pockets in the ruling party and within the ruling clique. They may put up Mr. Ram Subhag Singh against Mr. Dinesh Singh or Mr. Dinesh Singh against the Prime Minister. It is their play and why do they do it? They do it with a purpose. If there is a world war, they do not want that any country should be independent and sovereign. They want them to commit themselves to either this camp or that camp. A crisis in the process of thinking has come about in this world. I can give you one instance. Because India did not commit herself during the Prime Ministership of Jawaharlal Nehru, America financed and armed Pakistan only with a view to contain communism, contain China within her borders. But a time came when China and Pakistan, being a member of SEATO, joined hands against India. The thinking process of the world has gone wrong and I fear we are living in chaotic times. Therefore, when a crisis has come about in the process of thinking, when camps are not clearly defined or divided, anything and everything can happen, unless we are sure of our own security, sure of our own public men and leaders in different walks of life.

One more point I have to say. If the C.I.A. or other organisations of espionage are functioning here, we cannot stop them. As Mr. Triloki Singh remarked yesterday, it is a recognised form of Government business, but I believe the first and foremost duty of any Government is to maintain law and order at home on advance its interests abroad. If you can maintain law and order at home and see that troubles are less, if the ruling Party is more considerate and carries the minority with it, many of the troubles that arise can be solved. Why is it that ambitious people fall a prey to the C.I.A. and other foreign influences? It is due to the expensive character of our elections. We spend so much money on elections, just to win one seat in a

parliamentary constituency. I believe, and I will not name him, probably one Minister remarked that he had to purchase a seat for five lakhs. If that is the character of our elections and if I am an ambitious man, why should I not think of the CIA or any other organisation, which will pay me funds to fight another candidate. We have to guard ourselves against many things and keep ourselves within limits, so that the ideals of Indian democracy and our commitment to build a socialist society in this country will succeed, and those who want to fish in troubled waters will fail. Thank you.

SHRI C. D. PANDE (Uttar Pradesh) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, I have the honour to address an empty House. All the same yesterday I heard with great attention the speech of Mr. Bhupesh Gupta. He laboured on his theme and he made out a fairly good case, but I also expected that his case would be complete and he would give both sides of the picture. He omitted the other side of the medal. Whatever the C.I.A. has done, it is a function of that Government to act. Whether their agency is stupid or efficient, it is for them to judge.

Every country in the world has got some system of espionage. The U.S.A. has got it. Great Britain had it in a big way, and so have the U.S.S.R., Pakistan and China. Perhaps we do have something of this nature, though it is nothing to be proud of. It is so insignificant and so inefficient. Therefore, if any other State is doing something and if we cannot stop that, it is really our fault. But what I was complaining about Mr. Bhupesh Gupta's speech was that he had altogether omitted the other side of the medal, and that betrays the sort of ideological predilection on his part. Was he not aware that if there is a C.I.A., there are equally pernicious and dangerous agencies working in this country in the name of espionage? Is he not aware that China did it worst and is still doing its worst to our country? They have got agents in Naxalbari, and those who are in that party are saying that they are doing it" and that China is leading them. The main thing in this country is that we are non-aligned, that we believe in co-existence, but we are allowing foreign agencies their own way. If America is at fault, Russia is more at fault. The American stupidity is that they have concentrated everything through the C.I.A.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Mr. Bhupesh Gupta has come to listen to your speech.

SHRI C. D. PANDE : I am very thankful you have come.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : How can I go without hearing the voice of C.I.A.?

SHRI C. D. PANDE : Whatever voice Mr. Bhupesh Gupta has he devoted the entire density of his voice to one condemnation of the C.I.A. I join with you that they are stupid, they are foolish, but you omitted the equally great part that Russia is playing in the sabotage and subversion of this country. The C.I.A. is one agency; the Americans have the habit of channelising the entire thing through one agency. Even a cup of tea to Mr. Bhupesh Gupta will be given through the C.I.A. But the Russians are more subtle, they are more efficient. They have got at least 20 or 25 agencies working in this country whose names are very respectable, which had become as if this is a matter of course. There is a Progressive Writers Association. There is a Federation of World Trade Unions. Then there—I have got a list here.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA (Bihar) : The Peace Council.

SHRI C. D. PANDE : There is the World Council of Peace, into which hundreds of Indians have been ensnared.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Where is its headquarters?

SHRI C. D. PANDE : Its headquarters may be in your thinking. You ask Mr. Chaman Lal who is an expert on this.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I should know because you are speaking of it. I am an ignorant man. I should know it.

SHRI C. D. PANDE : Then there is...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : The Peace Council according to you is like the C.I.A. organisation. May I know where is its headquarters?

SHRI C. D. PANDE : Did I interrupt you yesterday? You should not interrupt. There is the World Council of Peace. There is the World Federation of Trade Unions. There is the

World Federation of Democratic Youths. There is the International Union of Students; then the Women's International Democratic Federation; the International Organisation of Journalists; and various organisations of this type are working in this country as very respectable, as current coin, without any stigma attached to them. If the C.I.A. is doing this thing, we do not approve of it, we take strong objection to it. But the real point is, if American money is being devoted to the work of espionage and subversion in this country, can anybody deny that an equally great amount is being realised in this country in various other ways? Does the House not know that there are at least 100 or 150 Indians who have got prizes in the name of Peace Prize or Lenin Prize, Rs. 10,000 in prize?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : What is the prize? You mean Lenin Prize?

SHRI C. D. PANDE : Lenin Prize.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Your Congressmen got it. Can you not get Nobel Prize?

SHRI C. D. PANDE : Nobel Prize does not stand in that way. It is for scientific things. Here is a prize introduced with a view to indoctrinating, popularising certain doctrine, which may be good but which we do not approve of.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : What rubbish you are speaking.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : He has tolerated you yesterday, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta. You must tolerate him now.

SHRI C. D. PANDE : People are invited in large numbers to the Soviet Union, and I tell you it is a matter of shame that people are attracted by foreign travel and hundreds of Indians are being sent to the U.S.S.R.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Nobody invites you.

SHRI C. D. PANDE : Neither America calls you.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Even your son-in-law would not be invited.

SHRI C. D. PANDE : It does not matter. I was at one time in Rumania. I met several young men. They said to me that Communist leaders, if they want to send anybody write a chit to

[Shri C. D. Pande.]

the Embassy and they say 'yes'. If members of the Communist Party can recommend and give their followers or their possible followers a long holiday in East European countries, is it not ensnaring youth? There are a large number of progressive writers invited to Russia every year and their books are translated. Then they are given handsome prizes. They are feted. They are taken to holiday resorts. The accounts are there. I know one of the writers of the Hindi language was given 200,000 roubles for the translation of his books. Whether they translated the books into Russian or not, anyhow the amount is there. The prizes, the royalties, the free travels—is it not an attempt to ensnare, to indoctrinate the people of this country. Shri Bhupesh Gupta is always fond of saying that there is the American lobby. The moment he says American lobby, he thinks he is condemning somebody. Does it occur to the Members of Parliament, does it occur to the people of this country that there are two parties who render account of their activities in this country to a foreign Government? Does not Mr. Bhupesh Gupta render account of his party's activities? If there is a choice for you tomorrow between Indian security and the interests of world Communism, I dare say, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, your work will be for world Communism or international Communism.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : There would be never any conflict. Mr. Vice-Chairman, it is a serious thing . . .

SHRI C. D. PANDE : I am not yielding.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : He is not yielding.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I know he cannot be taken seriously.

SHRI C. D. PANDE : Can you deny that?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : May I tell the ignorant hon. Member ...

SHRI C. D. PANDE : I say I do not hear from you. Does he not say that he goes to Russia twice a year ?

श्री राजनारायण (उत्तर प्रदेश) :
आन ए प्वाइंट आफ इन्फार्मेशन । मैं यह
जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या पांडे जी हमको

साफ करेंगे कि वर्ल्ड कम्युनिज्म बहल फर्क है
कम्युनिज्म में क्या फर्क है ।

SHRI C. D. PANDE : There is nothing like Indian Communism.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Is it one 'm' or two 'm'? He should tell us.

SHRI C. D. PANDE : There is a systematic attempt from various countries. The real question is, do we stand for Communism. If we stand for Communism, there is a socialism. Do not make confusion between the two.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : He is not yielding.

(Interruptions)

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, एक मिनट
सुन लिया जाय । मैं एक निवेदन कर रहा
हूँ । देखिये कम्युनिस्ट मैनिफेस्टो, मार्क्स ने
1848 में लिखा है । अब मैं यह कहना
चाहता हूँ कि मार्क्स ने कहीं "कम्युनिज्म"
शब्द नहीं लिखा । पहला नाम चला था
सोशल डेमोक्रेसी । जब रूस में कम्युनिस्ट
क्रांति की कार्यवाही हो गई . . .

(Interruption)

वह नाम दिया लेनिन ने .

SHRI C. D. PANDE : I have heard Mr. Rajnarain. I am sorry. He is quoting from the history of communism.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : I will ask him to finish. You have yielded to him.

श्री राजनारायण : हाँ, तो मैं आपके
जरिये समझना चाहता हूँ . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Mr. Pande knows his job very well.

श्री राजनारायण : He does not know it. Picas; give me two minutes.

तो लेनिन
ने "फर्स्ट फेज आफ सोसाइटी" का नाम
रखा सोशलिज्म और "नेक्स्ट एन्ड हाइयर
स्टेज आफ सोसाइटी" का नाम रखा

कम्यूनिज्म । तो सोशलिज्म और कम्यूनिज्म में कोई फर्क नहीं है । फर्क यह है कि एक है तीस साल का जवान और एक है 30 साल के बाद का जवान । जहां तक इसका साइंटिफिक विवेचन है, अगर इनका यह कहना है...

श्री सी० डी० पांडे : मैं अपने आप कह-
लूंगा ।

श्री राजनारायण : अच्छा तो आप
समझ गए ?

SHRI C. D. PANDE : Mr. Rajnarain has made an effort to thrust upon this House the history of Communism. Whether Karl Marx had used the word 'communism' or not, I do not mind. But there is a difference between Indian socialism, socialism as distinct from communism, and communism which aims at the distatorship of the party proletariat. And no rule of law is there, there is no election. Mr. Bhupesh Gupta says that it is the best system and there cannot be any conflict between his loyalty to world communism and Indian nationalism. That is pure bunkum. Mr. Bhupesh Gupta does not realise what he is saying. There is a tremendous difference between the two. And as I have said, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, when the time comes, he will speak for international communism because we have seen his attitude during the war. When we were fighting the British, his party in the name of that progressive war in the world, that people" war, was siding with Great Britain.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : No.

SHRI C. D. PANDE : You did. What were you doing in 1942?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Never.

SHRI C. D. PANDE : You can deny everything. I assert that there is a distinct difference. That distinction is this. We have got this freedom in this country. The security of the country is our first concern. Everything should be through democracy, the entire government should be through democracy and nothing else.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : By hearing your speech we are losing sanity.

5—77 R. S./67.

SHRI C. D. PANDE : I know what we stand for, security of the country, democracy and socialism. But the moment there is communism, democracy goes. If there is anything like communism without party dictatorship, that will be a sort of socialism. We know, you are not amenable to it... (Interruptions) Therefore, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta and the people of his party and the party of Chinese Communism in this country, they should be more careful, they should analyse their minds. I know. At times when Mr. Bhupesh Gupta goes to Russia, we may be thinking that it is a simple process of paying a visit to his fraternal country. But if you take the other point of view, what is the mission? Do they ask questions there as to what is the situation in India? No. But they ask, which Minister is a Rightist Minister, which minister is a Leftist Minister, which Minister can be tolerated, which Minister can be torpedoed.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I tell you. This time they asked me whether Mr. C. D. Pande's delinquency and dementia is curable or incurable.

SHRI C. D. PANDE : Dementia? You are a mad man. Of course, you are hard-working in madness; there is a design in your madness to serve not this country but world communism. Or whether you are a fool or a knave. I do not know.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : ...People like you.

SHRI C. D. PANDE : There are...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Mr. Pande is saying that you are substantiating that you go and report matters there.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : No. He asked, what they asked me. I say, this time they asked me whether his delinquency is curable or incurable.

SHRI C. D. PANDE : I know your answer that Mr. C. D. Pande is an irretrievable reactionary, a rightist and is incorrigible. You should not waste any time but...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Mr. Govind Ballabh Pant should have come to the conclusion that you are a zero.

SHRI C. D. PANDE : What is the difference between your reporting to Moscow, Mr. A. P. Chatterjee's reporting to China and Mr. Niren Ghosh's reporting to other countries? There is no difference whatsoever. In fact, under the garb of a respectable parliamentary party in this country, in a democratic country, you are abusing the institution of democracy, you are conspiring to strangle democracy through this subterfuge.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I entirely agree, in so far as I am listening to his speech, that I am abusing democracy?

SHRI C. D. PANDE : Do not disturb me. Did I disturb you?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You say that I am abusing democracy. I say on that point that at this moment I am in agreement with you because I am listening to your speech.

SHRI C. D. PANDE : There are three words which are abused by them. One is democracy. Then, at once, it means that it is not democracy. German Democratic Republic means a Communist Republic. When they say 'Democratic North Vietnam' it is not so. When they say 'people's democracy,' it is much worse. And then, when they say 'peace', it means that they do not stand for peace. Then peace has got a separate, different connotation in the eyes of our friends. I do not speak of Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, I do not take notice of him. I say about the Communist Party. Then, there is democracy. When they say that word, the connotation of it is not what you or we or any other Member of the House understands. That is not their connotation, that is not their meaning of democracy. They say, peace, democracy and people. 'People' means that the Government should be such as to suppress the freedom of the people. That is their people's democracy.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : What are we discussing?

SHRI C. D. PANDE : We are discussing what you are aiming at to do in this country. Are you not trying, and is it not the policy of the Communist Party, to bring communism in this country? And if it succeeds, will it not be a reversal of democracy. Either ytra

are just paying a visit to Russia because of good climate—that is one thing—or you are engaged in a work which is dangerous to this country, which is dangerous for democracy. Therefore, to make a distinction between Chinese espionage, Russian espionage, American espionage and Pakistani espionage is not correct, there is no difference.

Sir, in this light we must take this debate. And with these words, I support the motion of Mr. Harish Chandra Mathur that the whole thing, not only about the CIA but the espionage and subterfuge and the respectable facade that the other countries are making in this country, should be taken into consideration. Really speaking, there is no difference between them. The Americans are stupid—everybody admits it. But the Communist, when they speak in the name of parliamentary work, they want to destroy democracy. Do you think that Mr. Niren Ghosh or Mr. Chatterjee, when they just defended what they had been doing in Naxalbari or at other places, they were defending Indian democracy? Do they stand for democracy? The answer must be clear. With their entire work, their speeches, their incessant work, their perseverance, their hard work, they aim at destroying this democracy in this country. If that is denied, I shall be very happy. They will never do it. But if they deny it, it will be hypocrisy.

SHRI A. D. MANI (Madhya Pradesh) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, before I go on to speak on both the motions, I want to congratulate my young friend, Mr. Panda, from Orissa who had made a very impressive speech. In the course of his speech he said that one of the reasons why the activities of the C.I.A. are possible in India is due to the fact that Indian elections have become very costly. He described one other reasons, namely, that we have accepted a Parliamentary form of Government as our conception of freedom which is very nearly the same as that of America and the United Kingdom. I do not think it would be possible for such a motion to be discussed regarding espionage in a country like the Soviet Union or the German Democratic Republic. No discussion would have been possible on the floor of the House like the one we are having. That we are having such a frank discussions . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : They do not produce C.I.A. men.

SHRI A. D. MANI: ... is a tribute to our democracy.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : They do not allow their editors to be C.I.A. men.

SHRI A. D. MANI : Regarding Mr. Mathur's motion I have given notice of an amendment for the appointment of a committee consisting of Members of Parliament, including eminent jurists to conduct an enquiry *in camera* into these allegations.

Sir, I would like to mention here— and I think Mr. Mathur made a point yesterday—that in the United Kingdom, where the security of the State is concerned, if an allegation is made about the security of the State being endangered, immediately a Parliamentary Commission is appointed. A Commission was appointed even in regard to the scandalous allegation against Mr. Profumo. The enquiry was conducted *in camera*. We do not want all the facts to be published unnecessarily in our country. But it is necessary that a Parliamentary Committee should be appointed because I quite agree with Mr. Bhupesh Gupta and others who have spoken that the C.I.A. activities have reached such a stage in our country that a formal enquiry is called for. Even in the United States, the C.I.A. has come under very heavy attack. President Truman, who set up the Central Intelligence Agency, himself disapproved of its activities when he came to realise what the dimensions of these activities are. There are American magazines like "The Teacher" which have disapproved of C.I.A. infiltration among students, and one of the normal forms of their working is to set up student bodies to criticise the U.S. policy on Vietnam just to show that they are impartial.

Sir, the C.I.A. has taken part in revolutions against the policy of the State Department. It tried to overthrow the Government in Costa Rica in the last century when the State Department wanted to support the Government. The C.I.A. has also been responsible for trying to subvert governments in various countries, often working under cover of Diplomatic Service.

Sir, John Smith has made allegations about one, Jack Corran who wrote a book on the R.S.S. This gentleman came to Nagpur many years ago. He had long ago a talk with me about the R.S.S. organisation. I was extremely surprised that he should have come all the way to

conduct an enquiry into the R.S.S. He said he was writing a thesis for his University. He was a very intelligent man. Some of the names mentioned here are U.S. officials. These officials have been abusing their diplomatic immunity and working for the C.I.A.

Sir, it would have been proper—I was told that it would not be permissible under the rules—for us to have tabled a resolution to be carried by the House that the C.I.A. activities constitute a danger to the freedom of the independent and developing countries. Even in the United States people feel that the C.I.A. activities should not be continued.

Sir, there is one other aspect of the C.I.A. I am told that the Americans are very good Budget analysts. Nobody knows where the C.I.A. funds are allocated. They are hidden in the Defence Department Budget as much, so that even the wise men there are unable to find out this fund.

There is one other convention of the C.I.A. Nobody knows who is another member of the C.I.A. It appears that only the President of the United States can ask for the names of the C.I.A. agents. Not even the State Department, not even the Secretary of State are supposed to know it. They cannot ask for this information. It works under such secrecy. Therefore, Sir, we have got a right to say that this kind of espionage must stop.

A reference was made by my hon. friend, Mr. Pande, to the Soviet Union. I think after the dissolution of the Comintern, after the end of the Stalinist regime, there has been a change in the angle of vision of the Soviet Union. In the past they might have conducted espionage. Indeed every country is entitled to have own surveillance network. We cannot object to that. I mean, we too have our surveillance network all over the world. It is not very effective unfortunately. Therefore, we cannot object to that thing.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : We have an intelligence Service abroad which gives more information about our affairs.

SHRI A. D. MANI : But we do not want any interference in our internal affairs. Far more effective than the C.I.A. is Pakistan's intelligence service in our country. They have one thousand persons in the Cutch area itself. Out of the cases which have been instituted for

[Shri A. D. Mani.] espionage, six cases belong to the Defence Ministry personnel. This is a very serious matter.

Now, Sir, with regard to the allegations of John Smith, I would not go to the extent of saying that every allegation that he has made is correct. John Smith's wife obtained divorce from him six years ago in a Florida court. One of the allegations that she made against John Smith was that he was a paranoid person, that he suffered from delusions that he felt that he was always being persecuted. I have got a cutting with me about that thing. She said that she was being accused of being a C.I.A. agent by him even though she was not a C.I.A. agent. The husband did not know whether the wife was a C.I.A. agent. That is the secrecy about this service. Sir, we have to take John Smith's disclosures with a grain of salt. But there is no doubt that there is a substratum of truth in the allegations that he has made.

Regarding General Bannerjee and Col. Sen, to whom a reference was made by Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, the 'Indian Express' published this version, and two days later carried a front-page apology at the instance of General Bannerjee and Col. Sen saying that they published it in good faith, that they did not vouchsafe for the accuracy of this thing. Sir, we do not want any aspersion to be cast on our Army.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : It says:

"Thimayya is our man, thanks to Evans." Continued Mary.

SHRI A. D. MANI : There is one more thing. In that Parliamentary enquiry the points that I want to be examined are whether the security system at work is a perfect one. For example, in the Defence Department in the United States or the United Kingdom every person is screened. Every person there has got to disclose his acquaintances. But here in India you can bring any file from any Ministry and read it out in the Lok Sabha or the Rajya Sabha. There is no security at all.

Secondly, and a very sensitive ground, I would like our Army personnel to have maximum measure of personal freedom. But men in very top posts like Generals and Colonels must observe certain restraints imposed by themselves on their freedom. If they are seen consorting with foreign personnel, as some of them are seen to be doing, our belief

in their steadfastness to their duties may be a little undermined. Sir, I would suggest that this Committee may examine the question whether the Defence personnel and the Foreign office personnel should not voluntarily disclose to the Government who their friends are outside their official circle. In the United States it is done but here our services do not have that shroud of secrecy which is observed in the United States.

My hon. friend, Mr. Mathur, mentioned that many hon. Members of Parliament go abroad. There is a committee, called the Friends of India Committee which has invited many Members of India. I have been to the United States a number of times.

AN HON. MEMBER: Were you invited?

SHRI A. D. MANI: No, I was never invited.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Here is a reference 10 one Ralph in that article Ralph was the nickname of an Indian Colonel whom the C.I.A. got in their clutches by using an American beauty.

2 P.M.

SHRI A. D. MANI : The question is this. Mr. Mathur knows there is an organisation called Friends of India Committee in Philadelphia. Five years ago, before all these disclosures were made I came to realise that it was a C.I.A. organisation. I tried to ask them how they were getting funds. They invited Members of Parliament of both the Houses, this one as well as the other House—very distinguished names, I do not want to mention them—to come to the United States. They give 25 dollars a day and you can go where you please and stay where you please. Sir, I have no doubt that Members of Parliament should keep a very live contact with the outside world. I would not like any restrictions put on their way. But even Members of Parliament must scrutinise the invitations they get. When I was invited by the German Democratic Republic, I took the permission of the then Prime Minister to go abroad. I said I am going at the invitation of that country. Now anybody can say I am a believer in its general policy on world issues' and anybody can go there. Now there are the Indo-U.A.R. Friendship societies. How are they financed? We do not know. I do not want unnecessary restrictions to be placed on the citizens. But Members of Parliament have been sometimes foolish in accept-

ing these invitations and going abroad and creating a feeling that there is a lobby which is functioning in Parliament. After all this is a tribute again to our neutral position that so many countries want to influence public opinion here. The C.I.A. is interested, the Russians are also interested, the U.A.R. is interested and Pakistan is interested for diabolical reasons, namely, subverting the Government. So I feel a Committee should be appointed. I think the Home Minister is going to tell us that such a committee is not feasible. But in the interests of the honour of *this* Indian services and the sanctity of Parliamentary institutions, since all these wild allegations have been made, it is necessary that an enquiry should be conducted to place on record that many of these allegations are false and where there are any loopholes in our security, to plug those loopholes. I hope that Members of the Opposition and Members on the other side also would accept my amendment to Mr. Mathur's Motion.

SHRI DEBABRATA MOOKERJEE (West Bengal) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I confess I was a little amused by the oscillations in the mood of the House between anti-American and anti-Soviet sentiments. In fact, the House appeared to be commuting between rival emotions depending upon whether it was an American spy or a Russian spy. I say spies are spies. A spy has no nationality. A spy has no caste; or probably spies have only one caste and that is the caste of spies. They are traitors, they are subverters and you have to treat them on that footing. We suffer no less if it is an American spy; or we suffer no more if it is a Soviet spy. If your house is on fire, is it any comfort to you that the hidden hand that supplied the spark to ignite the flame is American or Russian? I think, Sir, these are irrelevant considerations. It seems pretty clear that our country is fast becoming a happy hunting ground of spies. We have to be careful about them and as soon as you come across a spy you scourge him. That should be the correct attitude. Now, there was a touch of the cold war sometimes escalating into a hot war, so to say, when considerations suggested by the bipolarity of the two countries, Soviet Russia and America, incidentally crept into the debate. I think, Sir, these are wholly irrelevant. The only relevant consideration is whether there are spies in the country abroad and how we are going to deal with them. Now they believe in diplomacy by remote control.

Perhaps you can never get rid of spies altogether. You have to put up with them and deal with them effectively. The old definition of a diplomat being a gentleman sent abroad to lie for his country is now no more than an outworn cliché. They have now schools for spies. I confess I was intrigued to read in the papers a news item to the effect that they have a school for spies somewhere near Oxford. It, therefore, becomes clear that we have to deal with this menace and we must try to deal with it in an effective manner. The revelations made by John Smith, to which reference has elaborately been made, clearly indicate that the influence of spies, from whichever country they might come, is percolating into Indian polity at different levels. It is said that certain agents were busy working in Nagaland and supplying arms to the hostiles. It is also alleged that certain Defence personnel were contacted. The further allegation is that even some gentlemen occupying high places in the political life of the country, were also attempted to be contaminated. These are very serious allegations. But they are no more than allegations. You have to remember in this context that this gentleman who calls himself John Smith broke faith with his country. It remains to be seen whether he breaks faith with Soviet Russia.

SHRI P. C. MITRA (Bihar) : He will not be allowed to go.

SHRI DEBABRATA MOOKERJEE : We are living in the age of Burgesses, MacLeans and Philbys...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : And in Bengal, of Mir Jaffars, Prafulla Ghosh and Atulya Ghosh.

(Interruption)

SHRI DEBABRATA MOOKERJEE : It seems Mr. Gupta refuses to be cured by anybody. From Burgesses, MacLeans and Philbys to the names uttered by Mr. Gupta, is a far cry indeed. But I will not waste my time on him. The real question is : What are we going to do with these people who are found to have engaged themselves in activities which will undermine the integrity of the country? I think, Sir, it is not enough to have a two-day debate in this House or in the other House. It is essential in the interests of the country that there should be a thorough investigation into the facts and circumstances which have emerged so far. It may well be that most of the facts that have come to light have no basis at all. It may as well be that some of them are substantial

[Shri Debabrata Mookerjee.]

facts which require to be looked into with care. A mere discussion of the type that you are having at the moment will, I fear, not be of much assistance to the country. I doubt very much if the machinery suggested by some of my friends here that a Commission be appointed to go into these allegations would be a suitable machinery, for you must remember that in dealing with these allegations you have perhaps to deal incidentally with certain foreign powers. You have to see that you do not tread on the corns of other friendly nations. We are very friendly with Soviet Russia. We are equally friendly with the United States of America. Therefore these facts would require to be investigated with a certain amount of care and that care cannot, I fear, be reasonably expected from a body functioning as a Commission. There has to be some element of secrecy, there has to be an element of caution which is not possible for a large body of persons, howsoever responsible it may be, to exercise in every circumstance. I was wondering how far, if at all, the Home Ministry has taken pains to investigate these facts: It is essential that the Home Ministry takes the lead in the matter, takes the assistance of the Members of this House and come to proper conclusions. After having sifted in a preliminary manner the facts that have come to light, it would be the duty of the Home Ministry to apprise this House of the broad results of their investigation. It would then be open to this House to demand a Commission of Enquiry for the purpose of going, if necessity then exists, more fully into the allegations. I am not pleading for the Home Ministry but I think I am right when I say that in a matter where delicate considerations are involved the Home Ministry should be charged with the duty and responsibility of investigating the facts. Sir, it is well known that in municipal law, accomplice evidence is not to be trusted unless it is corroborated in material parts. You may perhaps with some justification extend the operation of that rule of prudence to international law. You have to deal with foreign powers because these agents come from foreign nations and in doing so you have to be careful. In order that due care and caution may be exercised, in order that you may not cause unfriendliness or uneasiness between the particular foreign nations involved and yourselves, it is essential that you observe certain

rules of prudence which I think the Home Ministry can possibly exercise. I am not opposed to an open enquiry as such but I think the time is not ripe for that. In the first instance there ought to be an enquiry by the Ministry of Home Affairs and after that enquiry is completed this House would expect the Home Ministry to place before it the results of its investigation. After having acquainted itself with the conclusion, if this House thinks in its wisdom that a further probe is necessary, there might be a high-powered commission. I think it would then be time to think of appointing such a commission.

Sir, I will not take more time but will only utter a word of caution. Spies are said to be abroad. Other countries more powerful than we are have also to deal with them. They have their machinery which could be geared into action at any given point of time and the results which are available can be made use of. I submit that we do not forgo the use of that machinery; let us make use of the machinery which is there and demand of the Home Ministry their conclusions and after having obtained the results you can ask for a commission if the necessity arises for it. You may say perhaps that our intelligence service is not intelligent enough, our secret service is not sufficiently secret. They are criticisms to which one ought to listen with care. Still I think it will not be proper in the interests of all concerned and most of all in our own interests that the Home Ministry should be bypassed and that we at once rush to the appointment of a commission. Appoint such a commission by all means if you think the conclusions of the Home Ministry are not satisfactory.

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA : It involves three Ministries, Home, Defence and Foreign Affairs. So, such a commission, when constituted, should take these three Ministries into consideration.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : If the Home Minister thinks, he can take the other two Ministries into confidence.

SHRI CHITTA BASU (West Bengal) : Sir, we are seized of a very important subject. During the course of the debate many revealing facts have come to the notice of this House in addition to the revelations made by John Smith, a former CIA agent. **Sir, we cannot do justice to the subject unless**

we take a broad view of the problem. There is no denying the fact that CIA is a growing organisation of the U.S. authorities to further their political designs. Any person or any student who has closely observed the contemporary international events will agree with me that the U.S. design is to subvert the national and patriotic movements in the colonial countries, their design is to topple and bring about fall of the Governments which do not like to toe the line dictated from New York or from Pentagon. Their object is even to have some pressures on those Governments which do not like to follow their policies. That being the case, CIA has been used to perform this dirty job round the world. If we do not take this view of the subject, I think we shall not do proper justice to the subject which we are discussing now. Sir, U.S. authorities today have two-fold programmes; they want to subvert the Government either by way of plots and intrigues, or by way of sheer show of military might. Even today you will notice that when the military might, plots, intrigues and various other adverse ways do not pay, they go to take such other measures as have been discussed by many Members House.

Sir, I would like to draw your attention to one of the speeches made by President Johnson highlighting the policy and objective of the CIA organisation as such. On November 18 last, in a letter to the CIA, President Johnson has said this. "You are the best in the world" declared President Johnson on September 18 in a letter to the CIA congratulating it on the occasion of its twentieth 'birthday'. He further eulogised: "You have built a solid foundation in the past twenty years. America relies on your constant dedication to the truth. On your commitment to our democratic ideal I believe our trust is well placed." And what is the truth of America? The truth of American foreign policy is, as my friend was saying some time before, to prepare for another world war, to subvert constitutionally elected Governments, to subvert even parliamentary democracy if that parliamentary democracy does not toe the line of their own, to bring about the fall of Governments either by plots or intrigues or conspiracies. Now that has been the truth. The CIA has been noticed here, and so far as their democratic ideal is concerned, the least said, the best. Now, Sir, I think you will agree with me that CIA organisations have tried this method in Cuba.

The CIA organisations have tried this method in Egypt, have tried this method in various South Asian countries, in so many Middle East countries, either to have a Government which would play second fiddle to them or, if they are not willing, subvert the Government, topple down the Government, bring about the fall of the Government if that Government continues to follow the basic nationalist policy that that Government feels necessary for the progress and prosperity of that country. Therefore their object is very clear.

Sir, although the revelations by Mr. John Smith have brought forth this notion on them to this House, even prior to these revelations by Mr. John Smith there were many blood-curdling revelations of this nature, and I think no Government having the least responsibility to the integrity, sovereignty and freedom of our country could afford to neglect them. They could neglect them only at the peril of the freedom and sovereignty of the country.

The article referred to has been profusely quoted by many hon. Members who spoke prior to me, but I only want to draw your attention to a particular matter because the time at my disposal is very short, and that matter relates to the role played by the U.S.I.S. If you like I can read it out, but I do not like to read it out, because that will take much of my time, but in this revelation it has been said that the U.S.I.S. has been used for the purpose of collecting information in the body politic of our country and that such information has been taken advantage of by the CIA. It has been suggested that certain U.S.I.S. employees were directly connected in the matter of the CIA activities in this country. It has been suggested in this report that CIA agents have been planted in the Prime Minister's Secretariat, the CIA agents have been planted into our army, air force, in many many Government Departments. It has also been suggested that many journalists, many students and many legislators are also attempted to be drawn into the tentacles of the CIA, into the net of the CIA. That being the case it poses a grave danger to our country. It poses a grave danger to the security of our country. It has also been suggested that money has been donated to certain persons, to certain organisations to run their organisations which also can be utilised for their services. Sir, we cannot afford to neglect all those things. If we neglect all those things we

[Shri Chitta Basu.]

are neglecting the very primary consideration of the security of our country.

Sir, something has been said regarding other countries. As a patriot of this country, as a nationalist of this country, the consideration of the freedom, consideration of the sovereignty, consideration of our own way of life shall ever remain the prime consideration. Therefore, Sir, attempts should be made from all quarters, irrespective of party affiliations, to fight this monstrous demon of agencies, these extra-territorial agencies—from whichever quarter they may come—which are prejudicial to the interests of our country, to the security and freedom of our country, to our ways of thinking, whatever they are, and to the way we want to build our country. Such an attempt should be effectively thought of. But that does not mean that the revelations made by this CIA agent are not to be given proper attention. I completely agree with my hon. friends who suggested the institution of a committee consisting of Members of Parliament because that may give concrete shape as to what steps the Government should take to fight this monstrous onslaught on our sovereignty and security. I think the House will agree to institute such a committee.

Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Now I call upon Professor Rao to make the statement.

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

STATEMENT BY MINISTER *RE* TUTICORIN HARBOUR PROJECT

THE MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AND SHIPPING (PROF. V. K. R. V. RAO) : Madam, in the statement I made on the floor of the Lok Sabha on 19th July 1967, in regard to the Tuticorin Harbour Project, I had indicated that it was essential that the economic viability of the project should be improved and that an official team should go into the whole question of the traffic potential and put forward a firm revised estimate of the traffic. The matter was then to be gone into jointly by the Chief Minister, Madras and myself, after which the scope and other details of the project would be finalised.

2. The Joint Team submitted its report in the third week of September 1967. I discussed with the Chief Minister, Madras, the traffic estimates made in the report, item by item, and we were satisfied that they represented reasonable projections. I also referred to the various steps to be taken by the State Government to implement certain industrial projects and to develop the salt industry in the region.

3. The report indicates that in the light of the various industrial developments planned and likely to materialise in the hinterland of the port in the near future, the firm traffic estimates for the port of Tuticorin by 1971-72 and 1975-76 will be 22.35 lakh tonnes and 35.10 lakh tonnes respectively. It is proposed that the Tuticorin Port will provide a 30 feet harbour with five alongside berths. To cater for the increased traffic envisaged by 1975-76, an additional alongside berth and other facilities will have to be provided at the appropriate time. The lay out of the harbour has been designed to meet the requirements of additional berths for deep sea fishing vessels.

4. I am glad to inform the House that Government have finally approved the Tuticorin Harbour Project at an estimated cost of Rs. 24.40 crores. This includes a sum of Rs. 3.96 crores which has already been incurred on the project upto the 31st March 1967. It has also been agreed that the balance, including foreign exchange, be provided to enable completion of the project, the provision of funds from year to year being made after receipt of advice of the Planning Commission.

5. The State Government have agreed to the merger of the existing minor port with the administration of the new major port for which one major Port Trust under the Major Port Trusts Act would be constituted. This would ensure that the available facilities in the existing minor port and the proposed port are fully coordinated and used to the maximum advantage.

6. I am confident that with the cooperation of the State Government, the port will usher in an era of industrial development in the hinterland, satisfy the long felt aspirations of the people of the region and, on completion, take its rightful place among the major ports in the country. Thank you, Madam.